

**NIGERIA AND THE THREATS OF TERRORISM: MYTH OR REALITY**

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**Abstract**

*Terrorism is a socio-political disorder that has grown to the detriment of the international security system and global economy. Acts of Terrorism have increased over the years since September 11, 2001 terrorist attack directed at the United States of America. Since then, some nations including Nigeria have been suspected as pro-terrorist countries, possible haven for the terrorists and prone to terrorist attack. This paper examines various questions regarding terrorism in Nigeria. The questions are: what factors precipitates terrorism and how does it thrive? Is terrorism a new phenomenon in Nigeria? Does Nigeria provide a fertile haven for terror and or terrorism? Is the threat of terrorism in Nigeria real or perceived? The paper submits that Nigeria is prone to terrorism either internally or externally motivated. We also argued that terrorism is not new in Nigeria and that conditions which supports the development and growth of terrorism is patently manifested in the country. The paper therefore concludes that the condition for the elimination of terrorism must be created by the Nigerian state such as preservation of popular democracy, equity in allocation of resources, education, full employment, maintenance of a sound administrative infrastructure and improved security networks.*

**Introduction**

Since September 11, 2001 terrorist attack directed at the United States of America, the issue of terrorism has attracted more than ever before, a global attention. This is so because of the scale of damage, which accompanied the attack, and the attendant loss of human lives. More important, the victim of the attack is a major power and player in world politics, coupled with the fact that foreign nationals from different countries also perished in the attacks. Equally important is the fact that the global nations

suffered a great setback and many nations whose economies were inextricably tied to American were badly affected. Unfortunately, acts of Terrorism have increased over the years with a total of 392 in 1999, a 43% increase from that of 1998 (USIS, 2000). There was also sharp surge in significant terrorist acts from 175 incidents that killed 625 in 2003 to 651 attacks that killed 1,907 in 2004 (GTS, 2005). The frequent suicide bombings that continue to occur throughout Israel, the attempted cyanide gassing and bombing of the World Trade Center in 1993, the United States embassy bombings in Kenya and Tanzania (in 8 August, 1998) and the kamikaze attacks of September 11, 2001, demonstrate the profound threats posed by individuals who commit terrorist acts (Ciampi, 2005). The London July 7 bombing, the Jordan attack, the India market bombing, all in 2005, are still fresh in memory. Therefore, international terrorism is a socio-political disorder that has grown to the detriment of the international security system and global economy.

In view of the above, many nations both developed and developing that had never considered terrorism as a serious social and political issue began to do so after the September 11, 2001. Nigeria is not left out even prior to September 11 attack, Nigeria has been a signatory to International Conventions and Protocols relating to terrorism, and has signed the Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism after the 9/11 attack (Mbanefo, 2005). Nigeria has also remained committed to the global war against terrorism and has continued diplomatic efforts in both global and regional forums concerning counter-terrorism issues. In addition to this, Nigeria has been helping to monitor threats to US citizens and other nationals living in the country and has

cooperated in so many circumstances with the US on tracking and freezing terrorist activities and exchange of security information.

To further demonstrate, in a practical sense, Nigeria's commitment to the fight against terrorism, the country's highest law-making body has on September 11, 2005 endorsed a draft bill aimed at preventing and combating potential terrorism. Our concern in this paper is to examine the threat of terrorism in Nigeria. In this regard, the paper attempts to provide possible answers to the following questions: What factors precipitates terrorism and does Nigeria provide a possible haven for terrorists and/or terrorism? How real is the threat of terrorism and what can be done to avert the possible attack? To answer all these questions the paper has been divided into various sections. Immediately after this section is the conceptual clarification.

### **International Terrorism: A Conceptual Framework**

There are certainly fundamental value questions related to ascertaining what is "terrorism" as contrasted to 'criminality' (Sloan, 1978). The oft-repeated statement 'One man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter' reflects genuine difficulties about what constitute 'terrorism' (Roberts, 2002, Heng, 2002). Therefore, the concept, *terrorism*, is an ambiguous one rendering little room for definitional consensus. Not only that, the difficulty among the social scientists has also been how to construct and device objective criteria to analytically study terrorism. For instance, Sloan (1978) rightly opined that while the topic of terrorism is indeed inherently emotive, the fact remains that one can and must devise objective criteria to study incidents of terrorism.

However, despite its definitional problems, certain scholars have presented definitions that are cast in a more rigorous and objective perspective. In his own work Jenkins (1978) defined political terrorism “as the threat of violence, individual acts of violence, or a campaign of violence designed primarily to instil fear...” America’s States Department defines terrorism as “premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against non-combatant targets by sub-national groups or clandestine agents, usually intended to influence an audience”. In essence, political terrorism is goal directed, employed in pursuit of political, social, ideological or economic objectives (see also, Barkan and Snowden, 2001, Cook, 1989). It is calculated violence directed at affecting the views and behaviour of specific groups. Therefore, political terrorism may be conceived “as the threat and or use of extra normal forms or political violence in varying degrees, with the objective of achieving certain political objectives/goals. Such goals constitute the long range and short-term objectives that the group or movement seeks to obtain...” (Shultz, 1978).

In addition, terrorism could be used to publicise a cause, promote an ideology, achieve religious freedom, attain the release of a political prisoner, or rebel against a government (Mooney et al, 2002, Crenshaw, 1981). What actually defines terrorism is not the motive but the means utilized in driving the motive.

Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) (2005) highlights four key elements of terrorism:

1. It is premeditated - planned in advance, rather than an impulsive act of rage.
2. It is political - not criminal, like the violence that groups such as the mafia use to get money, but designed to change the existing political order.

3. It is aimed at civilians - not at military targets or combat-ready troops.
4. It is carried out by sub-national groups—not by the army of a country.

There are certain limitations in the CFR's criteria. First, due to the level of sophistication in the strategy employed by terrorists, it may be targeted at both civilians and military. The attack on pentagon (September 11, 2001) is a typical case. Several attacks (especially suicide-bombing) have also been carried out against US military base and personnel in Iraq. What distinguishes terrorism from other military confrontations or conventional war is the element of surprise. Second, the official security agents of the state may perpetuate certain state-sponsored terrorism against real or perceived enemies of the state. The mass murder of millions of Jews in German prior to WW II was a typical example.

Then what are the objective criteria for analysing terrorism? There are a long list of possible variables, based on the scope, method and objectives of the terrorists. Seven of such variables have been identified for the purpose of analytical convenience. These according to Shutz (1978) are causes, environment, goals, strategy, means, organization and participation.

Causes may be broadly conceptualised as any one or an array of observable economic, political, social and or psychological factors. Conditions underlying the decision to resort to the use of extra-normal political violence is quite varied and complex. These generalized causal factors may be sub-divided into two categories: Long-term factors and short-term factors. In the case of non-revolutionary terrorism, long-term causal factors might include prolonged societal inequities, political disfranchisement, or economic depression, while short-term causes could be the result of a rapid upsurge of ethnicity, relative deprivation or government repression. The

environmental variable is conceptualised on the basis of geographical spheres. These environmental variations may be broadly classified into internal environmental (within the nation state) and external environmental (global, or systemic levels) categories.

Goals on the other hand, are the objectives at which terrorism is directed. For example, in the case of revolutionary terrorism, the long range/strategic objective would be to assist in the overthrow of the established order, while the short-term tactical/objectives might include disruption of the government's controls, demonstrations of the movement's strength, and building solidarity within the movement. Strategy may be conceptualised as overall plan, all necessary actions, policies, instruments, and apparatus – for the achievement of the terrorist goals. Means are categorized as any and all capabilities and techniques utilized within the broader strategic framework to achieve the goals projected. Capabilities available may include the most primitive or the most sophisticated forms of weapons, mobility, electronic media manipulation, tactical communications, etc. The techniques utilized can range from kidnapping, barricade and hostage, forms of bombing, armed assault or ambush, hijacking, skyjackings, rail derailment, hostage taking, threats, incendiary attack or arson, assassination, chemical, bacteriological or radiological pollution. Participation is broadly conceptualised to refer to the type of individual who takes part in political terrorism, as well as various types of political leaders who employ political terrorism to achieve their particular goals.

Terrorism is not uncommon in various parts of the globe. Most persistent and pernicious one is associated with the Palestinian Resistance Movement, PLA and PLO, the case of Belfast, the Al-Qaeda movement, the Red Army, etc to mention just a few. The devastating role of terrorists have made the United Nations to adopt the law of wars

and embarked on other measures aimed at controlling the menace, especially after the September 11, 2001 attack on the U.S and the recent terrorist attack in Great –Britain. Despite this, the incidence of terrorism continues unabated. The next section examines the typologies of terrorism.

### **Typologies of Terrorism**

There are various typologies of terrorism. The Wilkenson typology (cited in Shultz, 1978) divides terrorism into three generalized categories: Revolutionary Terrorism, Sub-revolutionary Terrorism and Repressive Terrorism. Revolutionary Terrorism is aimed at “bringing about political revolution”; Sub-revolutionary Terrorism “is employed for political motives other than revolution”. While Repressive Terrorism is government directed terror aimed at “restraining certain groups, individuals, or forms of behaviours deemed to be undesirable.

To Madunagu (2005) two types of terrorism exist - state terrorism and civil society terrorism; the former directed against the civil population, while the latter against the state. At another level, there are inter-state terrorism and intra-civil society terrorism, where the former characterizes a state divided against it and the latter described what is know in Nigeria as communal/inter-ethnic clashes. Others are:

- (1) State-Sponsored Terrorism – Used by radical states as foreign policy tools; Blodgett (1999) traced state-sponsored terrorism to WW1 when Germany launched over 110,000 chemical shells filled with phosgene in their final offensive against the French in Verdun during the summer of 1916. It is estimated by historians that the Germans' reliance on chemical weaponry

resulted in deaths that ranged from 300,000 to 900,000 individuals during World War I (Ciampi, 2005). This implies that terrorism may occur both in the context of violent resistant to a state as well as in the service of state interests (Crenshaw, 1981).

- (2) National Terrorism – used by group seeking to form a separate state for their own national group, often by drawing attentions to a fight for national liberation e.g. Irish Republican Army, Basque Fatherland and Liberty etc.
- (3) Religious Terrorism – Certain religious groups have been associated with terrorism. They usually seek to use violence to achieve a divine cause e.g. Al-Qaeda network, Palestinian Sunni Muslim Organization Hamas, the Lebanese Shiite group Hezbollah, the radical Jewish group affiliated with late Rabbi Meir Kahane, the Israeli extremists, Baruch Goldstein (who machine-gunned Muslim worshipers in a Hebron mosque in 1994), etc.
- (4) Left-Wing Terrorism – Left-wing terrorism developed following the contradictions of capitalism. The major aim of this kind is outright elimination of capitalism and subsequent replacement with a communist or socialist regime e.g. The Baader Mainhef Group (Germany), Japanese Red Army, the Weathermen (1970's America) and the Red Brigades (Italy). With the fall of the Soviet Union and the end to cold war, left wing terrorism is now uncommon.
- (5) Right-wing Terrorism – these groups seeks to do away with liberal democratic governments and create fascist states in their place. Neo-fascist

terrorists frequently attack immigrants and refugees from the developing world and are both racist and anti- Semitic.

- (6) Transnational and Domestic terrorism or Insurgent terrorism (Barkan and Snowden, 2001) is another typology. The 1995 truck bombing of a nine-story building in Oklahoma city resulting in 168 deaths and more than 200 injured is a typical example of domestic terrorism while 1988 bombing of Pan-Am flight 103 in Lockshire which took the lives of 270 people is transnational terrorism (CNN, 2001). Others are Cyber- terrorism, Narco-terrorism, Anarchist Terrorism, etc.

Terrorisms in whatever categories they fall have received global condemnations over the years. The only problem is the fact that the perception of the concept varies among nations. This explains why a large number of countries opposed the proposal or abstained from voting when the question of measures for preventing international terrorism was tabled in the UN General Assembly. During the procedural consideration of the matter, it transpired that many states do not differentiate between terrorists acts and the political aims motivating them, or between international terrorism and legitimate liberation, anti-colonial and anti-imperialist struggles, conducted in an organised fashion against suppressor states or those that are responsible for such suppression. Put differently, there is resistance to the possibility that, in the name of international ethics, the legitimate struggle against unethical phenomena in international affairs, such as imperialistic conquests, colonial suppression, aggression and its consequences, etc, might also be condemned. This makes it justifiable to take a great care in defining international

terrorism within the scope of the regular procedure for considering the substance of the problem.

However, terrorism could be perceived as criminal acts in international relations and international traffic. This means criminal acts that, irrespective of ideology, are considered by all civilized societies to be at odds with social, morals and common decency, or to be damaging to the interests of the community, as it is the case with the hijacking of passengers planes, hostage taking of the innocents for purposes of blackmail, the planting of bombs at large gathering, the mining of railway lines for purposes of protest demonstration, subversion or sabotage, the undertaking of reprisals by some countries against the population of others, the victims of which are innocent persons.

The questions are what factors precipitates terrorism and how does it thrive? Is terrorism a new phenomenon in Nigeria? Does Nigeria provide a fertile haven for terror and or terrorism? Is the threat of terrorism in Nigeria real or perceived? If all these questions are answered in the affirmative – what is the way out of the woods? All these questions will be answered in the subsequent sections.

### **Factors Precipitating Terrorism**

A host of factors precipitates and as well account for the upsurge of terrorism and terrorist activities. These factors could be subsumed under four broad explanations. These are psychological factors, political factors, economic factors and socio-cultural factors. All these are conceived in terms of political, economic, psychological and socio-cultural discrepancies or grievances among certain group of people in the society. Cremshaw (1981: 383) observed:

The first condition that can be considered a direct cause of terrorism is the existence of concrete grievances among an identifiable sub-group of a larger population such as an ethnic group discriminated against by the majority. A social movement develops in order to redress these grievances and to gain either equal rights or a separate state; terrorism is then the resort of an extremist faction of this broader movement.

The psychological explanation of the growth and development of terrorism attributes the menace to aggravated provocations and or what some scholars will call frustration – aggression syndrome. This may be caused by relative deprivation (social, economic or political) experienced by a group of people for a prolonged time. When this is the case, the aggrieved groups or persons may attempt to inflict pain on the perceived enemy by surprise, kidnap or hostage. For instance, the Ijaw Youth Council (IYC) has used some of these measures (such as hostage taking, shutting of oil installations etc) in agitating for political and economic equity in Nigeria especially since 1999.

The second factor is economic. It is mostly agreed by scholars (Cremshaw, 1981, Adeoye, 2005) that economic imbalances, deprivation and its attendant consequences like inflation and poverty provide a breeding ground for terrorist activities. It has been observed that the areas in which suspected groups operated in the world today are in a woeful economic state. Recent reports by the Central Intelligence Agency of America confirm that suspected terrorists operate predominantly in so-called ‘failed states’.

The third factor is the socio-cultural factors. Religion falls under this category. Religion generally is a very sensitive issue and matters that affect people’s faith; it can easily ginger violence and violence response. For instance, some international political observers (Philpott, 2002, Lincoln, 2003) have pointed out that one of the primary

factors, which accounted for the September 11, 2001 terrorist attack on the United States was religion. It is also argued that President Bush impatiently 'implicated' religion in the September 11 attack by branding the attackers first as terrorists, later as 'Muslim terrorists' and the media proclaimed other appellations such as 'Muslim extremists', 'Muslim activists', 'Muslim fundamentalists', 'Muslim fanatics' and so on (Gimba, 2004). Equating all these to terrorism is highly contentious and further triggers global polarization as many vehemently argue that September 11 attack was an attack against power and materialism (Agathangelou and Ling, 2004) and not religion as the attackers had enough opportunity to clearly define their motive. It has been argued that the United States policies in the Middle East was not only biased but anti-Islam. Akin to the above is the assumption that the US is trying to impose western culture on the people of the Middle East because of its heavy presence in Saudi Arabia and Kuwait. The imposition of global culture also generates conflicting interests, which might aid terrorism (Beck, 2003). The idea of grand-culture as opposed to mini-culture, which undermines cultural peculiarities and their importance, is central in this regard. Efforts to globalise democracy and promote secularism are typical instances.

Globalisation also facilitates terrorism by providing international markets where the tools of terrorism: explosives, guns, electronic equipment, and the likes can be purchased (Mooney et al, 2002). Globalisation is thus a permissive cause of terrorism as it increased complexities on all levels of the society and the economy thereby creating opportunities and vulnerabilities: sophistication of network of communication, transportation, scientific inventions (like dynamite in 1867) and urbanization (which

makes the city an arena of terrorism due to anonymity, mobility and accessibility of targets) (Cremshaw, 1981).

The fourth factor is the political factor. This is perhaps the most significant factor. Political agitations resulting from domination, oppression, deprivation and general bad governance have provoked civil disturbances. It is said that when the oppressor controls not only the political power but also the economic power, and when he refuses to relinquish such power willingly, violence must be used. Lack of opportunity for political participation and economic marginalization or what Naanen (1995) called internal colonialism, is another intricate etiologic factor. For instance in Nigeria, there is political upheaval about the 'South-South' question as regards presidency which has been a dream to the zone since the birth of Nigeria. This kind of marginalization (if it continues) might result in violent resistance and/or terrorism. In another dimension, weak political will in terms of government's inability or unwillingness to prevent terrorism and absence of effective security system in a state could also enable terrorism (Cremshaw, 1981). This factor is all-embracing. However, it should be noted that these broad factors are not mutually exclusive but rather interwoven.

### **Nigeria and the Threat of Terrorism**

In the words of Madunagu (2005), there is no state in the world where terrorism is absent, or new. This implies that it is common around the world. For instance, in first century Palestine, Jewish Zealots would publicly slit the throats of Romans and their collaborators; in seventh century India, the Thugee cult would ritually strangle passer-by as sacrifices to the Hindu deity Kali; and in the eleventh century Middle East, the Shiite

sect known, as the Assassins would eat hashish before murdering civilian foes. However, the word 'terrorism' entered into European languages in the wake of the French revolution of 1789. Terrorism is traced to the revolutionary years (French Revolution), as it was largely by violence that governments in Paris tried to impose their radical new order on a reluctant citizenry (Walker, 2004, Ulfstein, 2003, Roberts, 2002, Crenshaw, 1981). However, modern forms of terrorism can be traced back to such late nineteenth century organizations as Narodnaya Volya ('Peoples Will'), an anti-tsarist group in Russia in 1878-81 (Roberts, 2002). One particularly successful early case of terrorism was the 1914 assassination of Austrian Archduke Franz Ferdinand by a Serb extremist, an event that helped trigger World War I (Council on Foreign relations 2003). More familiar forms of terrorism first appeared in July 1968 when the popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine undertook the first terrorist hijacking of a commercial airplane. Since then terrorism has taken a new dimension with high level of sophistication.

In Nigeria, however, many incidences that could be described as terrorism were acts perpetrated by the state during the colonial days and during military autocratic rule. This could be described as intra-state terrorism or state terrorism. Few could be categorized as inter-state terrorism or international terrorism. Few examples will suffice. Dele Giwa, the founding Chief Executive and Editor-in-chief of the Newswatch magazine, was assassinated, via a letter bomb on Sunday, October 19, 1986. Chief Alfred Rewane, a 79-year-old nationalist and democrat was shot dead on October 6, 1995, Kudirat Abiola (Lagos June 4, 1999) was gunned down by unknown persons and her husband, Moshood Abiola was allegedly poisoned (July 7, 1998). All these were instances of state terrorism (Madunagu, 2005). The killing of four Nigerian Security

Agents by Cameroon in 1981 was an act of terror. The crash of Nigerian Air Force plane in Lagos on September 26, 1992, and the explosions at a military weapons depot in Lagos in January 2002 were all suspected acts of intra-state terrorism.

In addition, Nigeria's involvement in state-sponsored terrorism was first recorded in 1984 when the Buhari/Idiagbon military regime sponsored the kidnap of Umaru Dikko in London. The anti-terrorist C13 unit of Scotland Yard foiled the plan. Some political-disaffected Nigerians also hijacked a Nigeria Airbus A310 from its Abuja destination to Niamey. Their demands included the transfer of power back to the National Assembly, abrogation of Interim Regime (installed by Gen. Ibrahim Babangida after the annulment of June 12, 1993 Election) and the unmasking of past corrupt officers (Agwu, 2004, Adeoye, 2003, Lasisi, 2002). This incident is a typical instance of transnational terrorism. The bomb explosion in Ilorin stadium on May 30<sup>th</sup>, 1995 and series of bombings during the Abacha regime are also suspected cases of terrorism (Adeoye, 2005, Saliu, 1999)

In a video message broadcast on the Arab television station, Al-Jazeera in February 2003, Osama Bin Laden, pointed out that Nigeria (among other nations) is a country ripe for "liberation" by his followers; that Nigeria is a country worthy of Jihad (Karon 2003). This pronouncement sent signal of possible terrorist attack on Nigeria to the Western world. But why is this pronouncement so dreadful? First, the United States had learnt a great lesson from the September 11 attack. Two, such attack on Nigeria would be damaging to the interest of America because apart from the Nigeria's strategic position in Africa, it is also the leading producer of oil. Not only that, Nigeria is also one of the top sources for oil for the United States.

More significantly, in addition to Osama Bin Laden's purported declaration, there have been several reports about terrorist activities in Nigeria. For instance, in the Guardian (2004) a front-page report linked an e-mail address, which was allegedly used by the Al-Qaeda group to Nigeria. This is not the first time that Nigeria has been mentioned in reports that Al-Qaeda suspects have passed through the borders of the country. Oyegbile (2004) reported that Al-Qaeda operatives were suspected to have lodged in a hotel in Kano in 2002.

Furthermore, a recent United Nation Court declaration has also linked the former Liberian President Charles Taylor, who is currently on asylum in Nigeria, with al-Qaeda blood diamonds. The confidential report from the UN – backed war crimes tribunal in Sierra Leone, which is seeking the extradition of Taylor from Nigeria indicted him for allegedly selling conflict diamonds to the terrorist group operatives Oyegbile (2004). Global Witness also accused Taylor of facilitating the process, which allowed the Al-Qaeda to mine diamond in Sierra Leone in exchange for arms. Contrary to US interest, Nigerian government has on many occasions expressed her decision not to extradite Taylor, a decision not comfortable to the West. This decision makes the West not only to suspect Nigeria as a pro-terrorist country but that Nigeria is a possible haven for the terrorists.

Another reason why Nigeria is considered to be a possible terrorist trouble spot is because of its large Muslim population and a country in which there has been a long history of religious tension; sometimes well managed, sometimes not well managed. The erroneous conception in the West is to see Islam as being synonymous with terror, not minding the conditions that precipitate terrorist activities. According to Karon (2003):

... Nigeria could be fertile ground for al-Qaeda — half the population is Muslim, antagonistic to its own government over issues such as corruption and enraged by the U.S. invasion of Iraq.

Indeed, in the eye of the Western world, to say that Islam and terrorism do not go together is heretical and a betrayal to the west. This is a dangerous ignorance of religion and history. Terrorism cannot be totally reduced or explained from the perspective of religion. It is a multi-dimensional, multi-directional, multi-faceted and multi-causal issue. It is purposive and goal directed. Few examples are sufficed here. The Baader – Meinhof gang, German Terrorist group of 1960 was not religious. The Irish Republican Army has in fact achieved a great deal of what they set out to do through the means of terror etc. It is important to note that terrorism is a universal problem and there is no any nation that is free from it.

More significantly is the issue of marginalisation crisis in Nigeria. This precipitates domestic terrorism in the Niger-Delta area. This has taken the form of violent upsurge, pipeline vandalizing and cases of hostage taking as a result of marginalisation crisis especially in terms of political appointment and resource allocation. These allocative injustice, marginalization and peripheralization, fear of domination, environmental degradation inform the threat to sack and ultimately liquidate the oil industry and explain the vulnerability of the region (Niger- Delta) to the utilization of terrorism (Nwabueze, 1999).

Terrorism or its threat in Nigeria- state, intra-state, or international- is not only perceived but also real. It is real because all the factors that precipitate terrorism are patently present coupled with Nigeria's recent romance with western world more

especially, the United States of America. In essence, the closure of American and British Consular in July 2005 against the possible terrorist attack could not be thrown out with a wave of thought. First, Nigeria is economically and politically unstable, it is a polity characterized by ethnic tensions and religious crisis, poverty is on the high side and many Nigerians are economically deprived as a result of pandemic corruption and gross mismanagement.

More significantly, the heavy presence of United States citizens in the oil producing zones could invite the embittered terrorist groups or associations to that region. This is to say that the act may not be directed against Nigeria or Nigerians but against foreign nationals in the Niger Delta. If it should happen Nigerians undoubtedly will not be spared. Because of its porosity and poor security system, terrorist organizations may employ opportunity of the Niger Delta conflict to penetrate the border. In sum, Nigeria is predisposed to terrorism.

### **Preventive and Curative Measures**

A government may use both defensive and offensive strategies to fight terrorism. Offensive strategies may include retaliatory raids, such as US incursion in Afghanistan and subsequent bombing of terrorist facilities, group infiltration, and pre-emptive strikes. Defensive strategies include the use of metal detectors at the airports and general improvement in security networks. Meanwhile, preventive and curative measures cannot be taken without a proper threat analysis. Threat analysis is a fluid and continuous process. As data for the analysis change, so do the results. Planners must adjust their

plans to incorporate changes during the threat analysis. Three kinds of information are analysed to produce a valid threat analysis.

- (1) Intelligence and Criminal Information –this provides information on the goals, methods of operation, techniques, strategies, tactics, and targets of individuals and groups.
- (2) Threat Information – identify individuals and groups involved in the planning and implementation of terrorist acts.
- (3) Vulnerability Information – Identify security weaknesses and high-risk targets.

Generally, the key factors to be analysed include

- State of the economy
- Standard of living
- Effectiveness of law enforcement
- Stability of the government and of the population's social and economic situation
- Morale of the population, their support of the government, and the government's support for them.

A critical look at the above key factors, as earlier indicated shows that Nigeria is prone to terrorism either internally or externally motivated. The state of the economy is daunting, standard of living extremely poor, ineffective and poor security systems, perpetual state of instability and poor morale of the population and high crisis of legitimacy (Ogundiya, 2001).

Therefore, to prevent domestic terrorism in Nigeria, the country's economy must be put on a sound footing with the eradication of corruption in all facets of human endeavour. Effective poverty alleviation programme devoid of rhetoric must also be put in place. This argument is predicated on the fact that deprived citizens may provide means for the implementation of terrorist act especially when sponsored by disaffected elites. Cremshaw (1981) observed that terrorism is more likely to occur precisely where mass passivity and elite dissatisfaction coincide. Therefore, good governance must be accorded high priority, as this will generate high and considerable level of affection and support for the government. The national security needs to be redefined to recognize, environmental issues, terrorism, and weapons proliferation, international health concerns, international migration, natural resources as part of the national security policy.

Furthermore, condition for the elimination of terrorism must be created by the Nigerian state which further includes the institution and preservation of popular democracy, protection of life, pursuit of justice, provision of health care, education and full employment and maintenance of a sound administrative infrastructure (Sabella, 2005). The upheaval in the Niger delta is primarily a result of allocative injustice and relative deprivation. It is in line with this that the Nigerian state must revisit the issues of resource control, environmental degradation and infrastructural decay in the Niger Delta to arrest terrorist potentials in the region.

Significantly, there is urgent need for Nigeria to train special anti-terrorist squad. This section could be created out of the Army, Air force, Navy and Police to complement the efforts of the National Intelligence Agency and State Security Service (SSS). To see

the threat of terrorism in Nigeria as mere perception is dangerous. Meanwhile if people define situation as real, they are real in their consequences.

### **Conclusion**

As we have seen in this paper, terrorism is goal directed, though may be corrective, is also devastating and therefore should be controlled. We also argued that terrorism is not new in Nigeria and that conditions which supports the growth and development of terrorism is patently manifested in the country. Therefore, the threat of terrorism is not just perceived but real. Such threat may be directed at the Nigerian state and at foreign nationals, more especially those in the Niger Delta region. If this should happen the efforts of the federal government to invite foreign investors would be jeopardized, the security system threatened and development efforts will be frustrated.

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